

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 207682 TOSEC 100409

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 207682 TOSEC 100409

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 3914 ACTION SECSTATE INFO

LIMA OECD PARIS EC BRUSSELS GENEVA MTN GENEVA DTD 30 AUG

QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 3914

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, UNGA, EGEN

SUBJ: UNGA SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION: ASSESSMENT OF PREPCOM

REF4 (A) STATE 194506

(B) USUN 3892

(C) USUN 3894

1. SUMMARY: EXCEPT FOR A SHARP LAST-MINUTE SOVIET/
CHINESE CLASH, PREPCOM III PRODUCED NO REAL SURPRISES.
THIS OUTCOME SATISFIED OUR BASIC OBJECTIVES OF MAINTAINING
A POSITIVE AND RECEPTIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR THE SECRETARY'S
SPEECH WITHOUT PREMATURE FREEZING OF SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS
OF DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSENSUS TENDING TO ISOLATE US PRIOR
TO THE SESSION ITSELF. THERE ARE STILL SERIOUS POTENTIAL
DIFFICULTIES AND RISKS, HOWEVER: THAT A HARD G-77 LINE
WILL DEVELOP DESPITE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MODERATES
AND EXTRMMISTS IN NEW YORK; THAT FRICTIONS MAY DEVELOP WITH
ALLIES RE US INITIATIVES AND THAT LAST-MINUTE INITIATIVES
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 207682 TOSEC 100409

BY OTHERS MAY CREATE CONFUSION. APART FROM SUBSTANTIVE
DIFFERENCES, THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM WE SEE ON THE EVE
OF THE SPECIAL SESSION IS THE LACK OF ANY CLEAR VIEW AMONG
UN DELEGATIONS ON A POSSIBLE OUTCOME TO THE SESSION. AS

THE PREPARATORY PHASE ENDS ATTENTION IS FOCUSED ON THE U.S. WITH INTENSE INTEREST IN: (A) THE SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS THE SECRETARY WILL MAKE AND (B) HOW THEREAFTER THE POSITIONS OF THE U.S., WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN CAN BE MESHED WITH THOSE OF THE G-77 TO FIND COMMON GROUND AND AGREEMENT ON FOLLOW-UP PROCEDURES. END SUMMARY.

2. PREPCOM III CLOSED ON AUGUST 29 (REFS B AND C) WITH LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE TO SHOW FOR ITS TWO-WEEK EFFORT BUT WITHOUT CONFRONTATION OR ACrimonious DEBATE BETWEEN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND LDC'S. A COUPLE OF NON-CONTROL-VERSIAL PROCEDURAL DECISIONS WERE TAKEN. THE FINAL RESULT WAS A DECISION SIMPLY TO FORWARD TO THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION THE POSITION PAPERS OF THE VARIOUS REGIONAL GROUPS ESSENTIALLY AS THEY EMERGED IN GENEVA. THERE IS NO QUESTION, HOWEVER, THAT THE G-77 PAPER IS SEEN BY MOST DELEGATIONS AS THE PIVOTAL DOCUMENT GOING INTO THE SESSION.

3. THE OUTCOME SATISFIED THE BASIC GOALS SET FORTH (REF A) - TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE BEST POSSIBLE ATMOSPHERE FOR THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH; TO PRESERVE THE PROGRESS MADE AT THE 59TH ECOSOC; AND TO STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THE NON-EXTREMISTS. WE WORKED PRIMARILY BEHIND THE SCENES EXPLAINING US OBJECTIVES IN A SERIES OF BILATERALS. THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE SPOKE BRIEFLY IN PLENARY SESSION ONLY TO MAINTAIN A CLEAR RECORD RE OUR RIGHT TO INTRODUCE PROPOSALS AT THE SESSION AND TO FORESTALL ONE OR TWO HALF-HEARTED ATTEMPTS BY ALGERIA AND MEXICO TO IMPLY THAT "SILENCE IS CONSENT" ON CERTAIN G-77 PROPOSITIONS. OUR STATEMENTS PROVOKED NO CONTROVERSY OR DISSENT. WHATEVER THE DISAPPOINTMENT AMONG DELEGATIONS HERE, THEY FINALLY ACCEPTED THE FACT THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT PREPARED TO LAY OUT ITS POSITION PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT.

4. SEVERAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTED TO THE OUTCOME. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WAS THE CONTINUING SPLIT BETWEEN CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 207682 TOSEC 100409

G-77 "MODERATES" SUCH AS PAKISTAN AND THE "HARD-LINERS" LED BY ALGERIA AND MEXICO. THE SPLIT REFLECTED DIFFERENCES ON BOTH SUBSTANCE AND TACTICS. ON THE SUBSTANTIVE SIDE, WE UNDERSTAND THAT IN INTERNAL G-77 SESSIONS, THE AFRICANS EMPHASIZED TARGETS AND REAL RESOURCE TRANSFERS WHILE THE OPEC COUNTRIES REFUSED TO ACCEPT TARGETS AND SOUGHT INSTEAD TO FOCUS ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES. MANY OF THE LATIN AMERICANS SEEMED PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN ACCESS TO DEVELOPED COUNTRIES' MARKETS, IN PARTICULAR THE U.S. MARKET. (THE BRAZILIAN PROPOSAL REPORTED IN USUN 3859 IS THE MOST PROMINENT EVIDENCE ON THIS POINT.)

5. TACTICALLY THE G-77 "MODERATES" ARGUED THAT THE SPECIAL SESSION SHOULD SEEK TO PRODUCE CONCRETE RESULTS AND, THEREFORE, THAT AN EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO COMPROMISE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES WITH OTHER GROUPS OR AT LEAST DEFINE THE COMMON GROUND AT THE PREPCOM. THE "HARD-LINERS" SOUGHT A REAFFIRMATION OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN NIEO, CERDS, AND THE LIMA DECLARATION. THEY WERE IN ANY CASE OPPOSED TO ANY COMPROMISE ON SUBSTANCE --- OR EVEN ON PRESENTATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE G-77 PAPER --- PENDING FULL PRESENTATION OF DEVELOPED COUNTRY POSITIONS, ESPECIALLY THE U.S PROPOSALS.

6. DESPITE THE FOREGOING SITUATION, HOWEVER, THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE IN "INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS" BASED ON THE G-77 POSITION PAPER. THE EC-9 AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, THE JAPANESE, THE NORDICS, AND THE AUSTRIANS ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN THESE CONSULTATIONS AND TABLED SPECIFIC AMENDMENTS IN MANY CASES. ALTHOUGH THE G-77 WERE NEITHER ABLE NOR WILLING TO RESPOND TO THESE AMENDMENTS IN DETAIL, THEIR COMMENTS DURING THE CONSULTATIONS CLEARLY INDICATED THAT WIDE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT REMAIN. THE US DELEGATION PLAYED THE ROLE OF SILENT OBSERVER IN THESE DISCUSSIONS. SINCE NOTHING APPROACHING CONSENSUS EMERGED, WE WERE NOT ISOLATED IN FACT OR APPEARANCE AND ANTICIPATION REGARDING THE SECRETARY'S PRESENTATION HAS BEEN BUILDING UP DAY BY DAY.

7. THE NEW YORK-BASED G-77 MODERATES DID ACHIEVE A CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 207682 TOSEC 100409

TACTICAL VICTORY IN EXTENDING PREPCOM III AND THE INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE G-77 POSITION PAPER INTO A SECOND WEEK. IT WAS HOPED THAT BY DOING THIS, THE LIMA NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE WOULD AVOID EXTREME OR INFLAMMATORY POSITIONS. THIS TACTICAL VICTORY MAY HAVE BEEN PARTLY BESIDE THE POINT, HOWEVER, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT POSITION PAPERS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ECONOMIC ISSUES WERE PREPARED AND TABLED AT THE LIMA CONFERENCE LARGELY INDEPENDENT OF WHAT HAS BEEN GOING ON IN NEW YORK. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE CONTENTS OF THESE PAPERS AND ON ANY DECISIONS TAKEN AT LIMA.)

8. QUITE APART FROM THE MAIN BUSINESS OF THE PREPCOM, VITRIOLIC DEBATE BETWEEN THE USSR AND CHINE OCCUPIED MOST OF THE LAST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS. THIS WAS SPARKED BY A GDR STATEMENT PURPORTING TO REPRESENT THE VIEW OF "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES AND SLAVISHLY ENDORSING NIEO, CERDS, ETC. THE CHINESE EXPLODED, MAINTAINING THAT THEY --NOT THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES -- TRULY SUPPORT THE 77. WE MAY SEE MORE OF THIS FIGHT AT THE SESSION ITSELF.

9. THE ROAD AHEAD ON THE MAIN ISSUES IS FAR FROM CLEAR

IN ANY CASE. AS INDICATED ABOVE, THE NON-ALIGNED MAY HAVE COME OUT OF LIMA WITH HARD, NON-NEGOTIABLE POSITIONS WHICH THEY MAY PUSH NO MATTER WHAT INITIATIVES WE TABLE. NEVERTHELESS, THE "MODERATES" HAVE CERTAINLY URGED RESTRAINT THE PAST TWO WEEKS IN HOPE THAT THE US PACKAGE WILL BE WORTHWHILE. WE HAVE OBSERVED SOME ANXIETY ON THE PART OF EC-9 DELEGATIONS THAT WE WILL EMBARRASS THEIR GOVERNMENTS BY OUTDISTANCING THEM WITH THE SCOPE OR SPECIFICITY OF OUR PROPOSALS.

10. PERHAPS MOST PROBLEMATIC IS THE FACT THAT NO DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE OR DISCUSSIONS HELD ON THE NATURE OF THE OUTCOME TO BE SOUGHT AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. OUR BEST GUESS AT THIS POINT IS THAT THE G-77 WILL SEEK TO "RESOLUTIONIZE" THEIR BASIC POSITION PAPER, PROBABLY AS AMENDED IN LIMA. THEY MAY PUSH THIS INITIALLY IN TERMS OF A GENERAL STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES RATHER THAN A RESPONSE TO THE US INITIATIVES. PRESUMABLY, THIS WILL BE THE MAJOR WORK OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 207682 TOSEC 100409

IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT ONE OR MORE SPECIAL WORKING GROUPS MAY BE ESTABLISHED TO FLESH OUT THE SPECIFIC US PROPOSALS AS WELL AS ANY OTHER PROPOSALS THAT ARE TABLED. SUCH A SCENARIO SUGGESTS THAT WE WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH BOTH PRINCIPLES AND SPECIFIC PROPOSALS DURING THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION. WE WILL NEED CLEAR GUIDANCE ON PROCEDURAL HANDLING, I.E. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROPOSALS DISCUSSED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (SPECIAL AND REGULAR SESSIONS) AND THOSE WE WILL BE PURSUING IN OTHER FORA, AND THE KIND OF RESOLUTION OR RESOLUTIONS WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT IN NEW YORK.

11. WHATEVER THE PROBLEMS AHEAD MAY BE, WE ENTER THE SPECIAL SESSION WITH A POLITICAL CONTEXT AND A TACTICAL SITUATION MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO US OBJECTIVES THAN SEEMED POSSIBLE A FEW MONTHS AGO. THERE IS NOW SOME HOPE THAT DOCTRINAL POLEMICS AND STEAMROLLER TACTICS WILL NOT DOMINATE THE PROCEEDINGS -- AND THAT THE SERIOUS BUSINESS OF SORTING OUT NORTH/SOUTH RELATIONS CAN BEGIN.

12. DEPARTMENT REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED.
MOYNIHAN UNQTE
INGERSOLL

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